

## New Findings on The Lord Baltimore Medals: Betts 34, 35, and 36

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Although medals relating to the colonial period of American history have long been of great interest to numismatists in this country, the absolute scarcity of examples of certain medals has discouraged significant research in the area. Three of the great rarities of colonial medals relate to Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore. These undated medals are generally known to American collectors from their listings in *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals*, by C. Wyllys Betts, where they were placed under the heading “Maryland Settled.”<sup>1</sup> Although the medals have little to do with that event, the association remains due to the fact that Betts’s 1894 work is still the standard reference in the field. Individually, the medals are the Lord and Lady Baltimore Portrait medal (Betts 34), the Map medal (Betts 35), and the Arrows medal (Betts 36). In recent years, several writers have addressed one or more aspects of these medals, including Tony Lopez, George Fuld, Christopher McDowell, and Douglas Lewis. To this may be added a number of auction catalog entries. While not everything published to date has been correct, even when conclusions may not be accepted, their work has paved the way for the findings reported here.

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1. C. Wyllys Betts, *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals* (New York: Scott Stamp and Coin Company, Ltd, 1894; reprint Winnipeg: Canadian Numismatic Publishing Institute, 1964), pp.20–21.

## PART ONE:

## Lord and Lady Baltimore Portrait Medal

Measuring about 48 mm, the Portrait medals depicting Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and his wife, Anne Arundell,<sup>2</sup> were cast in silver and then chased, a common practice in the seventeenth century. The obverse bears an armored portrait of Cecil Calvert, 3/4 right. The inscription DMS-CÆCILIVS • BARO • DE • BALTEMORE • ABSOLV • DMS • TERRÆMARLÆ • ET • AVALONLÆ • &C +, translates as "The Lord Cecil, Baron of Baltimore, Lord Paramount of Maryland and Avalon, &c."<sup>3</sup> On the reverse is a bust of Anne Arundel, Lady Baltimore, 3/4 right, and the inscription DNA : ANNA • ARVNDELIA • PVLCHERRIMA • ET • OPTIMA • CONIVX • CÆCILII • PREDICTI +, which Edward Hawkins translates as "The Lady Anne Arundel, the lovely and excellent wife of the forementioned Cecil."<sup>4</sup> Although Hawkins indicates the cross on the obverse and reverse are mint marks, they are probably just a convenient way to indicate where the legends start and end.

The first publication of the medal depicting Cecil Calvert and his wife Anne Arundell (Betts 34) was probably the February 1755 sale of the collection of Dr. Richard Mead by Abraham Langford. Lot 37, on the seventh day of that sale, was a group of two silver medals, one of "Lord Baltimore, Proprietor of Maryland, with his Lady on the reverse," and a silver medal of Lord Stewart of Traquair.<sup>5</sup> This was sold for eleven shillings to Edward Hodsoll, a goldsmith and banker who sold his collection *en bloc* to Samuel Tyssen in 1794.<sup>6</sup> The medal has been popularly known to collectors since at least 1776 when it was included in Plate 22 of Thomas Snelling's *Thirty Three Plates of English Medals*.<sup>7</sup> The medal was

2. Anne Arundell, with two Ls, refers to the person, whereas the Maryland county is spelled Anne Arundel. Edward Hawkins spelled the person with one L.

3. Edward Hawkins, edited by Herbert Grueber and Augustus Franks, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II*, vol. 1 (London: 1885; reprinted 1978), pp. 261, no. 52.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Abraham Langford, *Musevm Meadianvm, Sive, Catalogvs Nvmorum, Veteris Aevi Monumentorum, ac Gemmarvm....* (London: 1755), p. 196.

6. H.E. Manville, "Square Pegs and Round Robins: Some Mid-Eighteenth Century Numismatic Disputes," *The British Numismatic Journal* (1990): p. 103. J.S. Strudwick, "Saxon and Arabic Coins Found at Dean, Cumberland," *The British Numismatic Journal*, ser. 3, vol. 8 (1955): p. 179.

7. Thomas Snelling, *Thirty Three Plates of English Medals* (London: Thomas Snelling, 1776). Snelling's *Plates* was later incorporated in John Pinkerton, *The Medallic History of England*



also included in J. S. Fisher's 1837 *Description of American Medals*, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society.<sup>8</sup>

For nearly two hundred years, only two genuine examples were known to the collecting community, one in The Hunterian and one in the British Museum. Of these, The Hunterian acquired its specimen (GLAHM:38116) in 1783 by a bequest from Dr. William Hunter, who probably obtained it from Thomas Snelling, who purchased it at the sale of the collection of James West (1703–1772), which took place in London between 19 and 26 January 1773 (Day 3, Thursday 21 January 1773, lot 72).<sup>9</sup> The British Museum example (1844,0425.22) was from the sale of the Thomas Thomas collection, sold by S. Leigh Sotheby & Co., 23 February 1844 (9 days), lot 400, which went to Edward Hawkins for £4/13/0.<sup>10</sup> This example may have previously been in one or both of two previous sale, those of James Brindley in 1819 and Thomas Dimsdale in 1824. In both cases the buyer was dealer Matthew Young.<sup>11</sup>

*Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II*, published in 1885, mentions examples in only three collections, the British Museum, The Hunterian, and Sir W. Eden.<sup>12</sup> As will be shown below, the two portrait medals were reunited with a single Eden family owner in 1819. When Edward Hawkins was working on his catalog, Sir W. Eden probably owned both Lord and Lady Baltimore medals later included in the 1983 Spink U.S.A. sale.<sup>13</sup> However, there was no mention of multiple examples in Eden's collection since Hawkins only did this when they were of different materials. Although *Medallic Illustrations* was published in 1885, Hawkins's work was largely completed by 1852 when an abridged version that only went to the end of Wil-

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to the Revolution (London: Edwards and Sons, 1790), Plate XXXIV, No. 1, and is sometimes referenced as such in auction catalogs that pre-date the publication of Hawkins's *Medallic Illustrations* in 1885.

8. J.S. Fisher, "Description of American Medals," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, ser. 3, vol. 6 (1837): pp. 291.

9. Jesper Ericsson to Christopher McDowell (Email dated September 19–21, 2023). Abraham Langford, *A Catalog of the Large and Valuable Collection of Greek, Roman, British, Saxon, English and Foreign Medals, Medallions, and Coins, in Gold, Silver, and Brass, of James West, Esq.* (January 19, 1773).

10. S. Leigh Sotheby & Co., *Catalog of the First Portion of the Very Extensive and Truly Valuable Collection of Coins and Medals Formed During the Last Fifty Years by the Late Thomas Thomas, Esq.* (February 23, 1844).

11. See Appendix One for details, p. 185.

12. Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. I, p. 261, no. 52.

13. Spink & Son USA, *Auction 4* (November 10 and 11, 1983).



liam III's reign was printed. That book was never published because the Trustees of the British Museum were concerned about "the controversial views of some of the historical figures."<sup>14</sup> Hawkins died in 1867, eighteen years before a revised version of his work was finally published.<sup>15</sup> While a complete history of the two Eden family specimens has not been established, much of it can be ascertained by examining auction catalogs. However, we should first examine the claims already made concerning the Eden family medals.

In November 1983, Spink & Son USA sold three medals relating to Lord Baltimore, the property of the Right Honorable Lord Eden of Winton, Ninth Baronet of West Auckland, and Seventh Baronet of Maryland, U.S.A. Two of these were the Portrait medals of Lord and Lady Baltimore, Betts 34, and one was the Arrows medal, Betts 36. While no additional provenance was provided in the lot descriptions, the introduction noted that the sale included "three extremely rare silver medallions of the second Lord Baltimore, Lord Proprietor of Maryland, which have been in the family's possession since their manufacture."<sup>16</sup> This claim has been repeated by a number of writers, most notably Douglas Lewis, who for many years was the curator for Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. In an article published as part of *Essays in Honor of Paul Mellon, Collector and Benefactor*, Lewis provided this elaborate pedigree for the medal now in the collection of the National Gallery of Art:

It is only through the unprecedented succession in the family of the Lords Proprietors that the one remaining pair of original Maryland medals survives to our own day. Descending in the private cabinet of the Barons of Baltimore, the primary specimens of the medals were inherited by the last Lord Baltimore's sister, the Hon. Caroline Calvert, who married in 1763 Sir Robert Eden. This able administrator, who was appointed by his noble brother-in-law as the last of the colonial governors, left Annapolis on 26 June 1776, and on 19 October was himself created first Baronet of Maryland by King George III. The medals continued to be preserved in successive generations of the family, though electrotype copies of them were eventually made for the British Museum and other collections. The primary examples were finally consigned to auction in 1983 by Sir John

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14. David Pickup, "Edward Hawkins and Medalllic Illustrations," *The Medal*, no. 16 (Spring 1990): p. 48.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Spink and Son U.S.A., (1983).



Benedict Eden, the Right Honourable the Lord Eden of Winton, 7th Baronet of Maryland, and purchased from Messrs. Spink & Son by the National Gallery of Art with a gift from Paul Mellon (for the double portrait medal...) and by the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore (for the pendant medal of colonial award). Thus the two original medals, having descended through ten generations in the family of their commissioning patrons, are permanently reunited within the territory of that family's proprietary province, now shared by the state of Maryland and the federal city of Washington...<sup>17</sup>

This pedigree is repeated by John Graham Pollard, where he describes the medal's provenance as "Commissioned c. 1644 by the sitter, Cecil Calvert, 2nd Lord Baltimore [1606–1675]; by descent to his great-great-granddaughter, Caroline Calvert [c. 1745–1803], married 1763 to Sir Robert Eden; by descent to her great-great-great-grandson, Sir John Benedict Eden, Lord Eden of Winton [b. 1925], 7th baronet of Maryland and 9th baronet of West Auckland, County Durham, England; (sale, Spink & Son USA, New York, 10–11 November 1983, 1st day, no. 240); purchased with donated funds by NGA."<sup>18</sup>

While this provenance sounds impressive, it is, unfortunately, incorrect. Both Portrait medals sold by Spink & Son USA in 1983, as well as a Map medal, were acquired by members of the Eden family at auction in 1802, with the Arrows medal possibly acquired at the same time.<sup>19</sup> However, to truly understand their provenances, we must start with the 1755 sale of the Dr. Richard Mead collection by Abraham Langford. Dr. Mead (1673–1754) was one of the leading physicians in England during the eighteenth century. Among his many medical accomplishments was his involvement in the founding of the Foundlings and Guy's Hospitals, and his appointment as physician to King George II. He was also well known as a scholar and collector, with an extensive library and several collections, including antiquities, and coins and medals.<sup>20</sup> On Day 8 of the sale, lot 37

17. Douglas Lewis, "Colonial Proprietors and the English Civil War: Lord and Lady Baltimore's Maryland Medals of 1644," in John Wilmerding, editor, *In Honor of Paul Mellon, Collector and Benefactor* (Washington, D.C.: 1986), pp. 190–191.

18. John Graham Pollard, *Renaissance Medals, Volume Two, France, Germany, The Netherlands, and England* (New York and Oxford, 2007), p. 658.

19. In all fairness, it should be noted that the ability to quickly search through early auction catalogs did not exist in 1983. It is only through the availability of many scarce works on institutional websites, such as the *Newman Numismatic Portal* and *HathiTrust* that this type of research is possible. There is also little doubt that more information will be found in the future when additional references are made available.



consisted of two silver medals, one of Lord and Lady Baltimore, and another of Lord Stewart of Traquair by Nicholas Briot. These were sold for eleven shillings to Edward Hodsoll.<sup>21</sup>

The Sale of Samuel Tyssen's collection of coins and medals was conducted by Leigh, Sotheby, & Son from April 12 to May 31, 1802, and it is in this sale that medals relating to Lord Baltimore were acquired by members of the Eden family. One priced and named catalog examined merely provides the last name of most buyers. Lot 210, which brought £1/3/0, consisted of eight medals sold to Eden. A handwritten notation made shortly after the sale further identifies the bidder as Col. Eden. Items in the lot were medals of Lord Leicester, Judge Heath, Montagu, Lord Kimbolton, Lord Baltimore (reverse, Lady Baltimore), Henry Cromwell, Solicitor General T. Cooke, M. Hale, and one unidentified. Another lot, 569, which brought £2/2/0, consisted of three medals, a medal of Lord Baltimore with a map of Maryland on the reverse, and two medals that the auctioneer described as "doubtful," one of Lord Baltimore with his Lady on the reverse, and one of Ann, Countess of Pembroke. The buyer of lot 569 is fully identified in the catalog as "Sir Frederic Eden."<sup>22, 23</sup> The same buyer information is repeated in a second catalog which was not fully priced and named, but was partially annotated.<sup>24</sup>

Sir Frederick Morton Eden (1766–1809), the second Baronet of Maryland, inherited his title in 1784 upon the death of his father, the first baronet.<sup>25</sup> The Colonel Eden noted in the sale catalog is almost certainly Frederick's brother, William Thomas Eden (1768–1851).<sup>26</sup> A career army officer, William was a lieutenant colonel in 1802.<sup>27, 28</sup> Additional evidence that William was the actual bidder can be found in the catalog for the sale of Frederick's library and coin

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20. Andrew Burnett, *The Hidden Treasures of This Happy Island*, vol. 2 (London: 2020), pp. 1132–3.

21. Abraham Langford, *Mvsevm Meadianvm*, p. 196.

22. Leigh, Sotheby & Son, *A Catalog of the Entire Museum, of the Late Samuel Tyssen, Esq. F.A.S.* (London, March, April, and May, 1802), pp. 15, 40.

23. Although known today as Sir Frederick Morton Eden, during his lifetime, his first name was often spelled Frederic.

24. Leigh, Sotheby & Son, *A Catalog of the Entire Museum*, pp. 15, 40.

25. John Burke, *The Peerage and Baronetage of Great Britain and Ireland* (Henry Colburn, 1839), p. 359.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 359. Rosamond Randall Beirne, "Portrait of a Colonial Governor: Robert Eden," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. XLV, no. 3 (September 1950): p. 153.

27. James Carpenter & Co., *The Corrected Monthly Army List Containing the Whole of the Effective Army of Great-Britain, March 1799* (London, 1799), p. 11.

28. Another possible, but less likely bidder is Frederick's cousin, William Frederick Elliott



collection, held a year after his death in 1810. Two Lord Baltimore medals and several coins were included in the auction. Lot 5, under the heading of copper coins, consisted of "A piece of Lord Baltimore, very scarce," and might relate to a Lord Baltimore copper denarius.<sup>29</sup> Lots 12 through 15 consist of silver coins and medals relating to Lord Baltimore, with lot 12 being a medal of Lord and Lady Baltimore, and lot 13, "a scarce medal of Lord Baltimore," which would be a Map medal. Of the remaining lots, 14 included a Lord Baltimore shilling, sixpence, and a New England threepence. Lot 15 contained a Lord Baltimore shilling, and sixpence. According to handwritten notes in the copy contained in the Eden family papers at Durham University, lots 5 went "to General Eden," and 12 through 15 were "delivered to Genl Eden 26 Mar 1819."<sup>30</sup>

Although neither of the Eden brothers were known for their numismatic collections, Frederick made one other purchase at the Tyssen sale, lot 579, the Felicitas Britanniae medal of Charles II, which marked his return to London on his birthday, May 29, 1660. The price was a hefty £21.<sup>31</sup> The disposition of the Map medal is unknown, but could have been any of the four known examples, as none appear to have pedigrees prior to the 1840s. The Arrows medal, if it was purchased in the Tyssen sale, could be the unknown medal in lot 210, but there is no convincing evidence for this one way or the other.

Based on the acquisition of medals at the Tyssen sale, it is pretty clear that the various Lord Baltimore medals that may have descended within the Eden family for several generations were not acquired as an inheritance going back to the second Lord Baltimore, Cecil Calvert, but were acquired by purchase on one or more occasions at a much later date.

While most writers in recent years claim a total of four original specimens of the Portrait medal are known, there has been little mention of two other ex-

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Eden (1782–1810), who was a Member of Parliament for New Woodstock from 1806 until his death by drowning in 1810. However, he was not promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel in the St. Margaret's and St. John's Volunteers until 1803. See R. Thorne, editor, "EDEN, Hon. William Frederick Elliot (1782–1810)," *The History of the House of Commons 1790–1820* online, accessed September 26, 2023; and "War-Office," *The London Gazette*, issue 15616 (August 30, 1803): p. 1240.

29. See Sylvester S. Crosby, *The Early Coins of America* (Boston: 1875), pp. 131–2 for a discussion of this coin and its provenance beginning with Hodsol.

30. Burton, *A catalog of the ... library of ... Sir F. M. Eden, Bart. ... in which will be found rare works of ancient and modern authors in the various languages: choice manuscripts, &c. &c.: Which will be sold by auction by ... Burton, on Wednesday the 14th of March, 1810, and nine following days...* (London, 1810), Lots 1–15.

31. Leigh, Sotheby & Son, *A Catalog of the Entire Museum*, p. 41.



amples. The first, which was noted by Christopher Eimer in the second edition of his book, *British Commemorative Medals and Their Values*, is in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum.<sup>32</sup> This medal, which has the shortest pedigree of any of the known original medals, was acquired in 1919, and was formerly in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans.<sup>33</sup> Prior to its acquisition, it may have been the example offered by Spink & Son in the November–December 1916 *Numismatic Circular*.<sup>34</sup>

The second example that has been largely ignored was first reported in 1868 and discussed in both the *Historical Magazine* and the *American Journal of Numismatics*. While the present location of this medal is not known, there is enough physical evidence to indicate that the report is accurate. The first notice of this medal was made in the form of a letter from William Willis published in the March 1868 issue of *Historical Magazine*. According to Willis, the medal was “owned by the daughter of Doctor John T. Gilman...and was presented to her by her grandfather, the Hon. Nathaniel Gilman, of Exeter, New Hampshire.”<sup>35</sup> Willis further noted that there was no information regarding how Nathaniel Gilman acquired the medal, but speculated that it may have come from his brother, Governor John Taylor Gilman, who spent many years in Congress, and a great deal of time in Philadelphia when out of Congress. Willis’s description of the medal also provides identifying clues for this specimen. In addition to the standard size and description of obverse and reverse, Willis noted “a slight projection on the top, in which is a hole, for the purpose, probably, of suspending it.”<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the suspension loop on the Gilman family specimen has a loop that is clearly distinguishable in shape from that on the British Museum medal, which is the only other example with a loop.

The Gilman family example of the Lord Baltimore medal was mentioned in the *American Journal of Numismatics* (*AJN*) on two occasions. The first was in the August 1868 issue of *AJN* under Transactions of the Boston Numismatic Society for July 2, when the president of the Society noted Willis’s letter in the *Historical Magazine*.<sup>37</sup> The next mention was in the December 1868 *AJN*, again

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32. Christopher Eimer, *British Commemorative Medals and their Values* (London: Spink & Son Ltd., 2010), pp. 43–4, no. 120.

33. Dr. Julian Baker to Scott H. Miller, email dated November 28, 2023.

34. Spink & Son, *Numismatic Circular*, vol. XXIV, nos. 11–12 (November–December 1916): p. 699.

35. William Willis, “A Rare Medal,” *Historical Magazine*, vol. III, second series, no. 3 (March 1868): p. 176.

36. *Ibid.*



under a report of the regular meeting of the Boston Numismatic Society that took place on November 5, 1868, when a letter from the Hon. C. H. Bell of Exeter, N.H., a corresponding member of the Society, was read. In addition to Bell's conjecture that the medal may have been issued on the marriage of Lord and Lady Baltimore, he provided some information about its provenance:

Col. Nicholas Gilman, a member of the old Congress, brought the medal to his home in Exeter, from Philadelphia, it is understood, not far from the beginning of the present century. The impression of the Gilman family is, that it was presented to him by some friend from Philadelphia, but it is not known by whom. Col. Gilman presented the medal to his brother, the late Hon. Nathaniel Gilman, of Exeter, who gave it, a short time before his death, to a grand-daughter, the daughter of Dr. John T. Gilman of Portland, Maine.<sup>38</sup>

Even if completely true, the history of the Gilman specimen has the second shortest pedigree of any of the Lord and Lady Baltimore medals. Another clue to the existence of this medal can be found in an unpublished letter from Charles Bell to William Willis. Dated September 16, 1868, the letter reads:

I beg your acceptance of the accompanying copy of the Baltimore medal. Only eight copies are made, of which I retain one; another I shall send to the Maryland Hist. Soc., and the remainder will go into the hands of those who will appreciate them. One is pre-eminently due to you, who were the first to introduce the original to the notice of the antiquarian public, — if there is such a public.<sup>39</sup>

On the back of the letter, Willis made a pencil notation, "Electrotype of the medal of Lord Baltimore & his wife in possession of Mrs. Eleanor Nichols of Cambridge,<sup>40</sup> daughter of Dr. John T. Gilman of Portland—the medal was given to her by her Grandfather Nathaniel Gilman of Exeter, N.H. & is described by me in the *Historical Magazine*, published in N.Y. March No 1868 page 176. Wm Willis."<sup>41</sup> When Charles Bell's collection of autographs and coins was sold by C. F. Libbie & Co. on December 12–13, 1895, lot 1314 consisted of two electrotype

37. "Boston Numismatic Society," *American Journal of Numismatics* (August 1868): p. 29.

38. "Boston Numismatic Society," *American Journal of Numismatics* (December 1868): p. 60.

39. Charles H. Bell to William Willis, letter dated September 16, 1868, author's collection.

40. Additional comments on the identity of Mrs. Nichols can be found below in the description of this medal.

41. Annotation by Willis on back of letter from C. H. Bell dated September 16, 1868.



Lord Baltimore medals.<sup>42</sup>

While it is possible that both Lord Baltimore medals in Charles Bell's collection were electrotype copies of the Gilman family medal, a comment in the October 1876 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics* suggests otherwise. In a review of the June 1876 Parmelee sale, mention was made of lot 217, which consisted of a Lord and Lady Baltimore medal that sold for \$17.50. An asterisk next to that figure leads to a comment that "this Medal proved to be an electrotype, and was rejected by the purchaser. The only original known belongs to Hon. Charles H. Bell, of Exeter, N.H. A full description is given in the *Journal*, Vol. iii. pp. 29, 60."<sup>43</sup> The many other appearances of electrotype copies of the Lord and Lady Baltimore medal in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century catalogs are virtually impossible to attribute as being copies of either the British Museum or Gilman medals, the only examples from which electrotypes appear to have been made. These copies were not highly prized by collectors or auction houses, so have only minimal descriptions. In addition, as these two medals are the only examples to have a loop, that distinguishing feature is of little use in old catalog descriptions. As an example of this, the W. H. Hunter collection sold by S. H. Chapman in 1920 contained two examples of the Lord and Lady Baltimore medal. Listed as lots 10 and 11, they are each described as "silver reproduction, cast and chased, as were the originals, with loop."<sup>44</sup> Needless to say, neither medal was illustrated.

The Portrait medal has generally been described as having been cast and chased. In fact, the true method of production is a little more complicated than that. Christopher Eimer, who examined the three examples in British Museum collections, believes they "constitute separately-cast obverse and reverse sides joined at their edge by a neatly folded collar, but a more detailed examination may prove otherwise...."<sup>45</sup> Examination of the medal at Colonial Williamsburg provides greater insight into its method of production, as it displays a significant flaw where a small piece of the obverse has broken off. The missing area allows us to see that the medal is composed of two uniface silver casts, joined at the edge, with the rim of the Lord Baltimore side over that of Anne, and then chased; evidence of the seam can clearly be seen on the edge, as well as alongside the

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42. C.F. Libbie & Co., *Catalog of the Collection of Autographs and Coins of the Late Charles H. Bell, Esq., of Exeter, N.H., December 12th and 13th, 1895* (Boston, 1895), lot 1314.

43. "Parmelee Sale," *American Journal of Numismatics*, vol. XI, no. 2 (October 1876): p. 45.

44. S. H. Chapman, *The Collection of American Historical Medals and Canadian Coins of W. H. Hunter, Esq., December 9 and 10, 1920* (Philadelphia, 1920), p. 8.

45. Christopher Eimer, *British Commemorative Medals*, pp. 43-4.



underside of the Anne half corresponding to the missing piece. This information is in agreement with Eimer's observations. The medal at the National Gallery of Art, which was examined while still in its display case, appears to have been made in the same manner, with a partial seam clearly visible. Presumably, the Gilman specimen was made in the same manner.

As with almost everything about this medal, the date of its production has long been one of guesswork and conjecture. However, there are clues to be found on the medal which will at least allow an educated approximation. The inclusion of Calvert's titles to Maryland and Avalon indicate the medal could not have been made prior to 1632, when he inherited them on the death of his father, George Calvert, the first Baron Baltimore. In all likelihood, they were not made after the death of his wife, Anne Arundell, which would give us an end date of 1649. The personal appearance of Lord Baltimore, as well as a comparison with portrait miniatures of the time, further provide an approximate date.

Lord Baltimore is shown on this medal sporting a light mustache and a mouche (a bit of hair under his lower lip), a style popular during both the reign of Charles I (reigned 1625–1649) and the Commonwealth. Fortunately, we have several other portraits of Lord Baltimore that can be used for comparison. Examination of the finest known example of the Map medal, which is in the collection of the Maryland Center for History and Culture, shows Calvert with a clearly defined mustache. The fact that Lord Baltimore looks older on the Map medal than on most of the Lord and Lady Baltimore medals, and can be seen wearing a style of clothing common under the Commonwealth indicates the double Portrait medal predates the Map medal. Lord Baltimore also appears clean-shaven on the series of coins struck for use in the Maryland colony in 1659,<sup>46</sup> as well as in the Abraham Blooteling engraving of a portrait dated 1657, and the c. 1670 oil painting by Gerard Soest.

Our next clue comes from a comparison of the medal with portrait miniatures.<sup>47</sup> Although a pair of portraits that served as the model for the medal has not been located, Douglas Lewis, then Curator of Decorative Arts at the National

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46. What appears to be a slightly misshapen mustache on the shilling is probably a die crack. The other denominations show Calvert without facial hair.

47. Prior to the invention of photography, the use of paintings and drawings as models for portraiture on coins and medals was common. In his entry for January 10, 1662, the diarist John Evelyn describes how he was present and held the candle for Samuel Cooper who was "crayoning of the King's face and head, to make the stamps for the new milled money now contriving." William Bray, editor, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 1 (New York & London, 1901), p. 355. That drawing is now held by the Royal Collection Trust, object RCIN 914040.



Gallery of Art, felt the medals were based on miniatures by either John Hoskins or his nephew, Samuel Cooper from about 1641–2.<sup>48</sup> This would date the medals to about 1642 at the earliest, with Lewis giving an attribution to Claude Warin during the first half of 1644, apparently based on Calvert's appearance in Oxford following Charles I's entry there in October 1643, and Leonard Calvert's return to Maryland in July/August 1644.<sup>49</sup> While Lewis is probably correct in attributing the model to now lost miniatures by Hoskins or Cooper, his attribution to 1641–2 for the portrait miniatures and the attribution to Claude Warin in early 1644 is on less firm ground, especially as it presupposes Lord Baltimore gave his son, Leonard, some medals to take back with him on his return to Maryland. However, there is no documentary evidence concerning the creation or use of medals in 1643–4 to establish the Oxford-Warin connection.

Examination of clothing and hairstyles on the Portrait medal can also help establish an approximate period, but not an exact production date, and must also allow for some delay between creation of the original portrait miniatures and the medal. Lord Baltimore's clothing shows him in armor with a plain collar, a style that became more popular with the rise of the Puritans. An examination of portrait miniatures and medals of the period indicates the style of dress to have been popular in the 1640s and 50s.<sup>50</sup> Since neither the movements of various members of the Calvert family, nor fashion can reliably establish a date for the Portrait medal, a more generic late 1630s to early 1640s will have to suffice. Based on this, the likely date for this portrait miniature might be extended to a bit earlier or later than 1641–2.

As for Anne Arundell (c. 1615/16–1649), who was thirteen at the time of her marriage to Cecil Calvert on March 20, 1627/28, we have only one contemporary portrait to compare with that on the medal. That portrait, which is attributed to van Dyck and believed to date from the late 1630s, is known from a later copy.<sup>51</sup> This may have been the same painting that Cecil sent his son, Charles, in 1673. In a letter to his father dated November 20 of that year, Charles thanked him for the painting, and noted it would be a "great ornament" for his parlor, and that he agreed with his father that the "painter hath not done it for

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48. Douglas Lewis, "Colonial Proprietors and the English Civil War," p. 187.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 187–190.

50. The earliest English medallic portrait of a man in armor and plain collar might be that of Thomas Wentworth, who is depicted on an unfinished medal in gold from 1641, which was based on a 1640 engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar, which was, in turn, based on a van Dyke portrait of 1639; see Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. 1, p. 288, no. 102.



her advantage.”<sup>52</sup> However, in an 1822 catalog of paintings at Wardour Castle, No. 42 describes a van Dyck painting in the East End of the Saloon of Ann, wife of the Second Lord Baltimore.<sup>53</sup> According to a copy of that book annotated by Sir Ellis Waterhouse in 1947, the painting was sold, and a copy hung in its place. In the painting, Anne, whose hair falls in several curls down her forehead, wears a pearl necklace and double pearl earrings similar to those found on the medallic portrait.<sup>54</sup> Her face is also a bit thinner than on the medal, though which came first, based on appearance, is not easy to tell. The two styles of hair—of hair pulled back or hanging down in curls on the forehead—appear to have been popular at about the same time. Lewis claims that while women’s hairstyles did not undergo any dramatic change since the 1620s, subtle variations in the fringe, curls, parts, and buns could date Anne’s portrait to the early 1640s.<sup>55</sup> Although possible, an examination of paintings and medals of the period seems to show both styles in use at about the same time. As an example, depictions of Henrietta Maria on royalist badges of the late 1640s show the Queen with both bangs and hair drawn back.<sup>56</sup>

Of the six examples of the Lord and Lady Baltimore Portrait medal, the one at Colonial Williamsburg has several differences worth noting. The chasing on the portraits is heavier, and the individuals appear older than on the other examples. Lord Baltimore’s hair is more heavily defined, his face is a bit plumper with jowls showing, and he no longer has a mustache or tuft below his chin. Anne’s face is a little rounder, her hair more heavily defined and now shows curls down her forehead. The Williamsburg medal depicts a somewhat older couple, though at this point Anne is still in her thirties. Since the chasing on the Williamsburg example appears to be by another, less refined hand, it is possible it was made at a slightly later date, though this is by no means certain.<sup>57</sup>

51. Douglas Lewis, “Colonial Proprietors and the English Civil War,” p. 182.

52. Maryland Historical Society, *The Calvert Papers, Number One*, Fund Publication no. 28 (Baltimore, 1889), p. 285.

53. John Rutter, *An Historical and Descriptive Sketch of Wardour Castle and Demesne, Wilts: The Seat of Everard Arundell, Lord Arundell of Wardour, with a Catalog of the Celebrated Collection of Paintings* (Shaftesbury, 1822), p. 32.

54. While Lewis and others have mentioned Anne’s pearl necklace and matching earrings, none have noted that she is actually wearing double pearl earrings, the lower one being observable in line with then necklace, just in front of her hair.

55. Douglas Lewis, “Colonial Proprietors and the English Civil War,” pp. 176–7.

56. See, for example, Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. 1, p. 355; nos. 216 and 217, where medals clearly based on the same source image of the Queen show Henrietta Maria with different hair styles, one in bangs and the other pulled back.



There have been many comments over the years about the purpose of this Portrait medal. Unfortunately, no documentation has been cited in support of any claim. Hawkins is silent on this issue.<sup>58</sup> Betts, on the other hand, places all three Lord Baltimore medals under the heading "Maryland Settled."<sup>59</sup> Alan Stahl, after noting that nothing is known about the purpose of the several Lord Baltimore medals, claimed that "as most have loops, it can be inferred that they were made for wear, possibly even by Indians in the new colony of Maryland."<sup>60</sup> He also noted that the Virginia colony issued badges, and silver and copper plates during the 1660s as a means of identifying friendly Indians.<sup>61</sup> Douglas Lewis, who believed the Portrait medal now in the collection of the National Gallery of Art was the only true, original example, claimed that it was a companion to the Arrows medal (Betts 36), and that "the inscriptions on these pendant medals confirm that the two designs were conceived as presentations pieces, the second of them specifically to reward unity under the proprietors."<sup>62</sup> Lewis describes both the Portrait and Arrows medals as "being issued by Lord Baltimore himself: he speaks in the active voice of joining the colonists in a single body, then prays that God may similarly unite their hearts—observing that their communal power will be greater through consensus..."<sup>63</sup> The Portrait medals, as further explained by Lewis, were awarded to loyal subjects who had taken an oath of allegiance to Lord Baltimore.<sup>64</sup> This conclusion is not supported by any evidence so far presented. While the Arrows medal will be discussed later, the inscription on the Portrait medal suggests it is nothing more than what it appears to be on its face, namely a Portrait medal of Lord and Lady Baltimore.

Portrait medals of non-royal individuals, while not common in the

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57. The dating of the various Lord Baltimore medals remains problematic. Taking into account various political events, and the changing features of the couple, a rough time frame is possible, but nothing definite.

58. Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. 1, p. 261, no. 52.

59. C. Wyllys Betts, *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals*, pp. 20–21.

60. Alan M. Stahl, "American Indian Peace Medals," *Money of Pre-Federal America*, edited by John M. Kleeberg, Coinage of the Americas Conference at The American Numismatic Society, May 4, 1991 (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1992), pp. 161.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 160–1. While a majority of Map medals appear to have been looped, that is not the case for the Portrait medal, where only two original examples are known to have loops. Another possible reason the Portrait medals have loops is to facilitate their hanging on a wall or in a cabinet, as seen in the late seventeenth-century painting, *Cabinet of Curiosities*, by Domenico Remps.

62. Douglas Lewis, "Colonial Proprietors and the English Civil War," p. 175.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 189.



early seventeenth century, were something that existed in England since the last years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Hawkins lists, for example, a small, die-struck shell bearing the portrait of the Earl of Essex from 1597,<sup>65</sup> a series of counters of notables from 1603,<sup>66</sup> and a 1618 medal of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham.<sup>67</sup> Hawkins describes this last medal as being composed of two silver plates, or shells, joined together, not entirely dissimilar to the method of production for the Lord Baltimore Portrait medal. Other medals of notable, non-royal figures, were produced by Jean Warin in the 1630s, including Thomas Cary;<sup>68</sup> his wife, Margaret Cary;<sup>69</sup> Richard Weston, Earl of Portland;<sup>70</sup> William Blake;<sup>71</sup> and his wife, Anne Blake.<sup>72</sup> Not only was the creation of portrait medals fashionable, it was not unusual to have medals of both husband and wife. There is, therefore, no reason to believe the Lord and Lady Baltimore medal was anything more than part of this fashion. Even more compelling, perhaps, is the similarity of inscriptions on the medals of the Careys, and that of Cecil Calvert and Anne Arundell. Both Thomas Carey and Lord Baltimore bear legends in Latin that provide their names and titles. Cary's inscription, THO • CARY • R • CAROL • CVBICVLAR • ÆTATIS • SVE • 35 • 1633, translates as Thomas Carey, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King Charles, aged 35, 1633,<sup>73</sup> while the translation of the Lord Baltimore legend is The Lord Cecil, Baron of Baltimore, Lord Paramount of Maryland and Avalon, &c. Similarly, the medal for Margarita Cary has the legend • MARGARITA • VXOR • THO • CARY • ÆTATIS • SVE • 26 •, which reads Margaret, wife of Thomas Carey, aged 26.<sup>74</sup> The inscription around Anne Arundell is of a similar style, reading The Lady Anne Arundel, the lovely and excellent wife of the forementioned Cecil.

While the Lord Baltimore medal was undoubtedly a presentation piece, as there is no reason to believe it was made for public sale, there is nothing to indicate it is anything other than a personal vanity. Distribution would have includ-

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65. Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. 1, p. 173, no. 169.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 188, no. 3–p. 191, no. 10.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 220, no. 73.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 268, no. 66 and p. 269, no. 67.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 269, no. 68.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 270, no. 69.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 271, no. 70.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 272, no. 71.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 268, no. 66.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 269, no. 68.



ed family and friends, though a few may have made their way to those higher in the social hierarchy. Any use of this medal in relation to the administration of the Maryland colony, and there is no documentation for such a use, would have been incidental.

In 2009, Tony Lopez wrote that "the Archives of Maryland do indicate that the Betts 34 Calvert-Arundel [*sic*] Portrait medal was used by the officers and leaders of the Maryland Colony as a sign of provincial status or office."<sup>75</sup> Unfortunately, no reference was cited in either the original *Medal Collectors of America Advisory* article or the later version in the Summer 2010 issue of *The Maryland Numismatist*. Lopez may be referring to the report that in 1666, the Council issued an order that "every Justice of the Provincial Court should appear for the sittings with his ribbon and medal."<sup>76</sup> If so, it would probably be a reference to the Map medal, about which more will be discussed below.

Finally, there is the issue of who designed this medal. Graham Pollard noted that Lewis suggested the medal was by Claude Warin, the younger brother of Jean Warin, and that Mark Jones believed an attribution to Nicholas Briot to be more likely. In either event, Pollard clearly believed it was the work of Frenchmen, and not the work of any English maker, such as Thomas or Abraham Simon, or Thomas Rawlins.<sup>77</sup> Tony Lopez claimed Thomas Simon was the artist.<sup>78</sup> While Rawlins appears the most likely of those named, none of them are completely convincing.

Lewis claims a favorable comparison between Rawlins' Badge of the Forlorn Hope, but then states that an attribution to the French medalist, Claude Warin, who was active in Oxford from 1635–1646 was more likely. Lewis notes similarities in Warin's handling of both features and lettering as the basis for his attribution, but does not provide any examples to support this claim. A comparison of lettering on the Lord Baltimore medal and several pieces by Claude Warin, which are typically signed and bear portraits in profile, does not indicate any similarity, as claimed by Lewis.

As for Nicholas Briot, Jones links the lettering on the Lord Baltimore medal to that of Briot's Charles I Dominion of the Sea medal in that both make use of a bar to indicate an abbreviation, which was unusual in medals of the period.<sup>79</sup>

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75. Tony Lopez, "The First Indian Peace Medal," *MCA Advisory*, vol. 12, no. 5 (May 2009): p.12.

76. Carroll T. Bond, *The Court of Appeals of Maryland, A History* (Baltimore, 1928), p. 52.

77. John Graham Pollard, *Renaissance Medals, Volume Two*, p. 658.

78. Tony Lopez, "Thomas Simon," *MCA Advisory*, vol. 14, no. 2 (February 2011): pp. 3–5.



However, most of Briot's medals were struck and display a distinctive, clear style of lettering not found on the Lord Baltimore medal. Even those few cast pieces encountered, such as the Charles I Dominion of the Sea medal, have lettering that is better defined and more elegant than that found on the Baltimore medal.<sup>80</sup>

As for the claim that the Lord Baltimore medal was the work of famed engraver Thomas Simon, the evidence presented is not persuasive. Simon, whose work is probably the best documented of the English medalists of the period, has not been previously attributed with this medal in either Hawkins's *Medallic Illustrations*; the 1753 Simon-specific work, *Medals, Coins, Great-Seals, Impressions, From the Elaborate Works of Thomas Simon...* by George Vertue;<sup>81</sup> or Alan J. Nathanson's 1975 *Thomas Simon his life and work 1618-1665*. Although long considered to have been born in 1623,<sup>82</sup> Nathanson, citing work by the distinguished numismatist, Helen Farquhar, which referred to Simon's baptismal entry, stated he was actually born in 1618. Simon's earliest known work, the Scottish Rebellion medal of 1639, is signed with a single letter, S. Shortly thereafter, he utilized a more complete signature. Lopez's major reason for his Thomas Simon attribution is his finding of a minuscule letter S on each side of the medal. The images shown, and the examples seen suggest some sort of mark, but not necessarily a clear S, and not what would be expected for an artist's signature. In fact, referring to a British Museum electrotpe copy, Lopez himself notes, "The Simon marks are clearly identifiable on this piece; it was used as Simon's 'S' marks sit relatively high on the relief of the medal, and quickly wear down from use (especially on the Arundel reverse). A careful inspection will still reveal at least traces of Simon's mark on the cast/chased silver examples."<sup>83</sup> The "S" signature on the Scottish Rebellion medal is not only well-documented, but easily seen, which is

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79. Mark Jones, *A Catalog of French Medals in the British Museum, volume 2* (London, 1988), p.164.

80. In his review of Mark Jones, *A Catalog of the French Medals in the British Museum*, Stephen K. Scher found Jones's reasons for attributing this medal to Briot to be "not entirely convincing." Stephen K. Scher, "Book Review: A Catalog of the French Medals in the British Museum, vol. 1, A.D. 1402-1610. Vol. 2, A.D. 1600-1672 by Mark Jones," *American Journal of Numismatics*, vol. 2 (1990): pp. 197-207.

81. George Vertue, *Medals, Coins, Great Seals, and Other Works of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edition (London: 1780). It should be noted that Vertue was familiar with both the Portrait and Map medals. Both are listed in Volume IV of his Note Book. Walpole Society, "Vertue's Note Book A.q. [British Museum, Add. MS. 23,071]," *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, vol. 24 (1935-36): pp. 94.

82. 1632 according to Lopez, but this is probably a typo.

83. Tony Lopez, "Thomas Simon," p. 4.



more than can be said for the Lord Baltimore medal. It should also be noted that while Calvert was a Catholic and staunch royalist, Thomas Simon was a Puritan who clearly supported Parliament. This can be seen in the many portrait medals Simon created for the Roundheads, as well as his work for the Commonwealth in designing seals and the Cromwell portrait coins. Finally, the quality of work on the Map medal, while competent, is nowhere near the high quality evident in Simon's work.

This leaves us with Thomas Rawlins, a known supporter of the royalist cause who made a number of cast Portrait medals of the period, including some that showed portraits in three-quarters profile, and lettering that was, at times, a bit cramped, as on the Lord Baltimore medal. All that being said, there is no reason to believe the medal was the work of Rawlins, as it is somewhat different than virtually all others from the period, in that, as noted by Lewis, the portrait designs were much more like portrait miniatures than medallic portraits, which leaves the possibility that it was the work of an otherwise unknown artist. Despite the many potential candidates for authorship of the Lord and Lady Baltimore Portrait medal, the evidence, at this time, leads to a conclusion that it should be attributed to the well-known medalist: Anonymous.



## CENSUS OF ORIGINAL

## Lord and Lady Baltimore Medals (Betts 34)

Along with their provenances, and a list of electrotype copies

## 1. THE HUNTERIAN.



GLAHM:38116 © The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.

GLAHM: 38116

47.6 mm, 24.92 grams.

Characteristics: no loop, smooth fields.<sup>84</sup>

Obv. Mustache and tuft of hair below chin present.

Rev. Lady Anne's mouth well defined.

Provenance: This medal was purchased by Thomas Snelling for £5/15/0 at the sale of the collection of James West (1703–1772), which took place in London between 19 and 26 January 1773 (Day 3, Thursday 21 January 1773, lot 72).<sup>85</sup> Snelling may have been bidding on behalf of Dr. Hunter, or sold the medal to him at a later date. Snelling used this medal to illustrate his 1776 book, *Thirty Three Plates of English Medals*, Plate 22. The plates were later reprinted by John Pinkerton in *The Medallic History of England to the Revolution*, published by Edwards and Sons in 1790, Plate XXXIV No. 1. It was the first example to enter a public collection.

84. Characteristics of original medals in collections located in the United Kingdom were based solely on photographs.

85. Abraham Langford, *A Catalog of the Large and Valuable Collection [...] of James West, Esq.*, day 3, lot 72. Annotated copy found in the New York Public Library.



## 2. THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



© The Trustees of the British Museum.

Registration Number 1844,0425.22

48.5 mm, 29.52 grams, thickness: 2 mm at rim, 3.2 mm at highest point

Characteristics: integral, ornamental loop with shoulders

Obv. Casting crack, damage to hair at left, nicks and scratches on face and field

Rev. Casting crack on neck, nick on forehead above eye, hair is chased at top

Provenance: Ex Thomas Thomas Coll., S. Leigh Sotheby & Co., 23 February 1844, lot 400 to Edward Hawkins for £4/13/0.



BRITISH MUSEUM ELECTROTYPE COPIES  
(READY FAMILY MAKERS)<sup>86</sup>

a. Maryland Center for History and Culture



Courtesy of the Maryland Center for History and Culture [1882.1.1].  
(formerly The Maryland Historical Society)

Object Number 1882.1.1

47.7 mm (without loop, 52.2 mm with loop): 37.7 grams, "R" on edge.

Provenance: gift of William Whitelock, 1882

In 1868, Charles Bell presented an electrotype of the Gilman medal to the Maryland Historical Society.<sup>87</sup> It was in the possession of the Society as of 1922 when, in a letter to John Work Garrett concerning the example of this medal owned by Garrett's father, Thomas Harrison Garrett, S. H. Chapman wrote that it is a British Museum electrotype. He then adds "About five or six years ago when I was in Baltimore, I examined the specimens in the Historical Society collection and condemned them as false. One or both of them has the tags of those rascals Spink & Son with them."<sup>88</sup> After a bit about how Spink & Son

86. While it would be ideal to list all electrotype copies, the fact that until recently, most auction catalogs did not illustrate these copies, making it impossible in most cases, to determine pedigrees, or even whether it is an electrotype of the British Museum medal, or the Gilman specimen. In such cases, the sale will not be listed.

87. Charles H. Bell to Brantz Mayer, letter dated December 3, 1868, in the Maryland Center for History and Culture.

88. S. H. Chapman to Robert Work Garrett, letter dated March 17, 1922, *Newman Numismatic Portal*.



knowingly tried to pass off a collection of false English war medals on his firm, Chapman returns to the matter of Lord Baltimore medals. "In the sale of the Hunter collection a year ago I condemned two specimens in his collection as reproductions, but they were not electrotypes—they were cast and chased, made as were the originals, and so cataloged them."<sup>89</sup> Based on this information, there should be two electrotypes of the Lord Baltimore medal at the Maryland Center for History and Culture, though only one seems to be in the collection at present, the British Museum copy acquired in 1882. More importantly, it gives us some clues about the eight copies of the Gilman family medal, and the difficulty in distinguishing between an original, cast and chased medal, and one created by joining two electrotypes shells, as the method of joining the pieces are similar. Also, while Chapman declared both electrotypes to be British Museum copies, it is only because until now, no one realized that electrotypes were made of two different examples of the Portrait medal.

In 1974, a number of colonial coins and medals were reportedly stolen from the Maryland Historical Society, including the medal listed here, and the Society's Map medal.<sup>90</sup> Their presence in the Society's collection today indicates they were subsequently recovered.

#### **b. Evergreen House.**



Images courtesy Christopher McDowell.

Size and weight unknown  
"R" on edge.

<sup>89</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup>. Baltimore Police Department Report, "Report of Missing Coins, April 3, 1974," Central Complaint No. 1C-43715. *Internet Archive*.



c. Stack's Bowers Galleries, April 18, 2017, lot 7126, uniface electrotypes.



Images courtesy of Stack's Bowers Galleries.

Uniface electrotypes

48.2 and 47.7 mm, "R" on edge.

Catalog description: "Cecil Lord Baltimore and Spouse Anne of Arundel Medal electrotypes, 1632. Silver lead-backed electrotypes with integral loops, 48.2 and 47.7 mm....Both display the robust cast and chased quality of the originals and British Museum copies with diminutive "R" on the edges, last quarter of the 19th century. Extremely Fine and essentially as made. (Total: 2 pieces)"

d. Stack's Bowers Galleries, March 21, 2012, lot 284



Images courtesy of Stack's Bowers Galleries.

Uniface electrotypes of reverse – 47.6 mm







In the early twentieth century, the Royal Mint had electrotypes of the Lord and Lady Baltimore medal on display.<sup>91</sup> According to Dr. David Mason, the Royal Mint Museum's Public Engagement and Information Officer, the only Lord Baltimore medals in their collection today are two uniface electrotypes of the British Museum example.<sup>92</sup> Photographs of these specimens indicate they are filled, and have traces on the backs of having once been mounted, indicating they are almost certainly the medals mentioned by Hocking.

**g. Illustrated in Coin Collector's Journal, 1941.**



Images courtesy Coin Collector's Journal

This medal was illustrated in the August 1941 issue of *The Coin Collector's Journal* as part of a brief article entitled "Early American Medals, Maryland Settled"; no author was listed.<sup>93</sup> Although clearly related to the British Museum specimen, most notably by the nick near Lady Anne's eye, it does not seem to match any of the other examples listed.

91. William John Hocking, *Catalog of Coins, Tokens, Medals, Dies and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint*, vol. II (London, 1910), p. 224, no. 19.

92. Dr. David Mason to Scott H. Miller, email dated May 11, 2023.

93. "Early American Medals, Maryland Settled," *The Coin Collector's Journal* (August 1941): p. 118.



### 3. National Gallery of Art.



Images courtesy National Gallery of Art.

Accession Number 1983.80.1

Silver, 47.6 mm, 25.01 grams.

Characteristics: No loop, smooth fields, details of portraits well defined.

Obv. Pronounced mustache, a bit of hair under chin, no frill to shirt, several incuse pinpoints on face, scratch or casting flaw on the left side of face from the mustache to where hair meets collar.

Rev. No fringe to hair, mark in right field to left of V, small nick on chin.

Provenance: Ex-Sir W. Eden, Spink & Son USA, November 10–11, 1983, lot 240; probably Sir Frederick Eden, purchased from the Samuel Tyssen sale, Leigh, Sotheby & Son, April 12–May 31, 1802, lot 210.

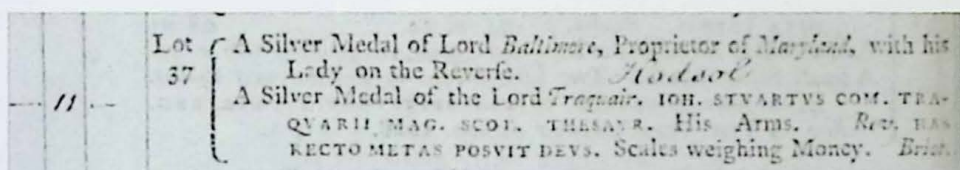
This medal first came to the attention of the numismatic public when it was offered for sale by Spink & Son, USA, November 10–11, 1983, as part of a group of three medals from the Eden family. According to the introduction to the auction catalog which included three medals relating to the second Lord Baltimore, two examples of Betts 34 and one of Betts 36, all three “have been in the family’s possession since their manufacture.”<sup>94</sup> The details of this provenance were provided in greater detail by the National Gallery of Art, which reports it as “Commissioned c. 1644 by the sitter, Cecil Calvert, 2nd Lord Baltimore [1605–1675];

94. Spink & Son USA, November 1983, Introduction.



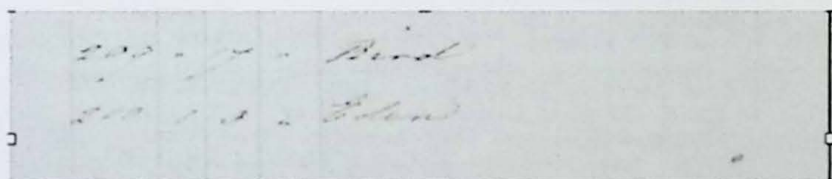
by descent to his great-great-granddaughter [*sic*], Caroline Calvert [c. 1745–1803, married 1763 to Sir Robert Eden]; by descent to her great-great-grandson, Sir John Benedict Eden, Lord Eden of Winton [b. 1925], 7th baronet of Maryland and 9th baronet of West Auckland, County Durham, England; (sale, Spink & Son USA, New York, 10–11 November 1983, 1st day, no. 240); purchased with donated funds by NGA.”<sup>95</sup>

The actual provenance for this medal before the Spink & Son USA sale is the Samuel Tyssen sale, Leigh, Sotheby & Son, April 12–May 31, 1802, lot 210 (eight medals in lot), sold to Colonel Eden for £1/3/0. Upon the death of General



William Eden the medal presumably passed to another family member, and it remained in the family until 1983.

This example (as opposed to the Williamsburg specimen) may have been the one included in the February 1755 Abraham Langford sale of the collection of Dr. Richard Mead, lot 37, which also included a medal of Lord Traquair. That lot



was sold to Edward Hodsoll for eleven shillings. Samuel Tyssen later purchased the entire Hodsoll collection.

Two examples of Betts 34 were included in the 1802 Samuel Tyssen sale and sold to different members of the Eden family. Lot 210 of the Samuel Tyssen sale. One catalog indicates the lot was sold to Eden, while another example clarifies this as Col. Eden.

Lot 569 of the Samuel Tyssen sale. Two examples of the catalog indicating the lot was sold to Sir Frederick Eden. The Betts 34 included in this lot was deemed “doubtful.”

95. “The Maryland Medal,” *National Gallery of Art* online, accession no. 1983.80.1. Accessed September 26, 2023.



210 Lord Leicester, P. 8, N. 2. Judge Heath, P. 18, N. 6. Montagu, Lord Kimbolton, P. 23, N. 8. Lord Baltimore. *Reverse*, Lady Baltimore. Henry Cromwell. Solicitor General T. Cooke. M. Hale, Esq. and one unknown. 1-3-0 6(1:2) an

2.2-0  
107-2-0  
27 an -  
569 Lord Baltimore, his Bust in Armour. *Reverse*, a Map of Maryland, of which he was Proprietor, *inscribed*, Ut. Sol. Lucebis Americae, *unpublished*. Another of him. *Reverse*, his Lady, and one of Ann, Countess of Pembroke, &c. *these two doubtful*, P. 34 N. 1 and 2. 3

#### 4. COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG ART MUSEUM.



Images courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Art Museum.

Accession Number 2004-8,50.

48 mm, 25.11 grams.

Characteristics: no loop, older portraits, planchet flaw on obverse from 5-6 o'clock.

Obv. Older, jowly portrait, no mustache or fringe under chin, frill on shirt under collar.

Rev. Older-appearing portrait, top of hair more heavily defined, fringe below ribbon, forehead curl replaced with thicker hair.

Provenance: Ex-Sir W. Eden, Spink & Son USA, November 10-11, 1983, lot 241; La Riviere II, Bowers and Merena, March 15-17, 2001, lot 2031, probably Sir Frederick Eden, purchased from the Samuel Tyssen sale, Leigh, Sotheby & Son, April 12-May 31, 1802, lot 569, where it was described as "doubtful," possibly due to the damage visible; Sir Frederick Morton Eden sale, Mr. Burton, March 14, 1810, lot 12; delivered to General William Eden, March 26, 1819.



## 5. GILMAN FAMILY.

Exact size unknown; described as approximately 1.75 inches.

Characteristics: round loop without shoulders, hole to left of center.

Obv. Mustache and tuft of hair below chin, scratch below LO in AVALON-LÆ, depression in right field at 4 o'clock.

Rev. No hair fringe, two horizontal scratches to right of bust, scratches in lower right field, unevenness in left field corresponding to depression in field on obverse

This example was first announced in a letter from William Willis and published in the March 1868 issue of the *Historical Magazine*, where the owner was identified as the daughter of Dr. John T. Gilman of Portland, Maine. It was later mentioned in a report of the November 5, 1868 meeting of the Boston Numismatic Society, reported later that year in the December issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics*.

Provenance: Current location unknown. Previously, Colonel Nicholas Gilman of Exeter, NH, to his brother, Hon. Nathaniel Gilman of Exeter, NH, to a granddaughter, the daughter of Dr. John T. Gilman of Portland, ME. Based on published genealogies, the granddaughter was Helen Williams Gilman Nichols (1839–1914), who was born in Portland, Maine, on June 24, 1839, the daughter of Dr. John Taylor Gilman and Helen Williams. She married Dr. John Taylor Gilman Nichols of Cambridge, MA, on October 2, 1867, and had four children, only three of whom survived to adulthood.<sup>96</sup>

Eight electrotype copies of this medal were produced in 1868. Of these, Charles H. Bell retained at least one, one was presented to William Willis, and one was sent to the Maryland Historical Society, though its current location is unknown. The disposition of the remaining five and the original cannot be determined with any certainty. When Charles Bell's collection was sold by C. F. Libbie & Co. on December 12–13, 1895, lot 1314 consisted of two electro-silver plated Lord Baltimore medals.<sup>97</sup> The Gilman family specimen's characteristics make identification fairly easy. Among the distinguishing features are the round-

96. Constance Le Neve Gilman Ames, *The Story of the Gilmans and a Gilman Genealogy of the Descendants of Edward Gilman of Hingham, England 1550–1950* (Yakima, WA: 1950), p. 87.

97. Libbie & Co., *Catalog of the Collection of [...] Charles H. Bell, Esq. [...]* (December 12–13, 1895), lot 1314.



ed loop, and the two roughly horizontal scratches in the upper field to the right of Anne Arundell, and the roughly vertical scratches below them in the lower field.

A copy of a letter dated November 14, 1868 from Charles Bell to Brantz Mayer, an early figure in the Maryland Historical Society, provides Bell's reasons for making copies of the medal, and demonstrates that he was not aware of either Snelling's *Plates*, or Fisher's *Description of American Medals*. According to that letter, Bell consulted some experts, who believed the medal to be chased or engraved, and, as a result, to be unique.<sup>98</sup>

Distinguishing the electrotype copies from the original is very difficult. Unlike the British Museum example, where the known original is located in the museum collection, and electrotype copies are generally marked with the stamp of the Ready family, the Gilman family electrotypes bear no manufacturer's stamp. In addition, because both the original and copies were created by joining two halves along the edge, any seam visible might not be of any great use in determining a copy. In fact, so well were these copies made that S. H. Chapman thought they were cast, rather than electrotypes. In his 1922 letter to John Work Garrett, Chapman repeats what he noted in the catalog description of the two Lord Baltimore medals from the Hunter sale. "In the sale of the Hunter collection a year ago I condemned two specimens in his collection as reproductions, but they were not electrotypes—they were cast and chased, made as were the originals, and so cataloged them."<sup>99</sup> There is one more detail included in the auction catalog of the Hunter sale that confirms these were copies of the Gilman medal—they are listed as being looped.<sup>100</sup> Since only two of the medals were looped, and British Museum electrotypes are distinguishable as such and usually bear the Ready family mark, S. H. Chapman's observation that these were not British Museum copies confirms they are copies of the Gilman family medal, the only other example for which copies are known. The description that these copies appear to be cast and chased also compares favorably with other examples. The medal in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, which has all the characteristics of the Gilman medal, could easily pass for a cast copy.

98. Charles H. Bell to Brantz Mayer, letter dated November 14, 1868, in the Maryland Center for History and Culture.

99. S. H. Chapman to John Work Garrett, March 17, 1922.

100. S. H. Chapman, *The Collection of [...] W. H. Hunter*, lots 10 and 11.



## ELECTROTYPE COPIES OF THE GILMAN FAMILY MEDAL

## a. American Numismatic Society.



Images courtesy American Numismatic Society

Accession Number 000.999.33071.

45 mm, 22.045 grams.

Characteristics: Round, integral loop, holed to left of center (obverse).

Obv. Scratch below L in AVALONIE, buckling lower right field, mustache uncertain.

Rev. No hair fringe, two horizontal scratches to right of bust, scratches in lower right field, scratches above.

Provenance: ex-Daniel Parish, Jr.



**b. Maine Historical Society.**

Images courtesy Maine Historical Society

Object No. BM42.

46mm, 27.8 grams.

Characteristics: Round, integral loop, holed to left of center (obverse)

Obv. Scratch below L in AVALONLÆ, buckling lower right field, mustache uncertain

Rev. No hair fringe, two horizontal scratches to right of bust, scratches in lower right field, scratches above.

Of the three Gilman type medals whose weights are known, this is the only one with a weight comparable to that of the known originals, suggesting it might be the original Gilman specimen.

c. Stack's Bowers Galleries, November 8, 2017, lot 1.



Images courtesy of Stack's Bowers Galleries.

46.2 mm exclusive of loop, weight unknown.

Described as "(C. mid-19th century) Cast copy of the Lord Baltimore and Anne Arundel Maryland Settled medal. As Betts-34. Silver. 46.2 × 50.6 mm with integral loop."



**d. Smithsonian Institution.**

Images courtesy of the National Numismatic Collection,  
Smithsonian Institution.

Catalog Number 76.57.01.

51.5 mm with loop, 20.26 grams.

Characteristics: Round, integral loop, holed to left of center (obverse).

Obv. Scratch below L in AVALONLÆ, buckling lower right field, mustache uncertain.

Rev. No hair fringe, two horizontal scratches to right of bust, scratches in lower right field, scratches above.

Provenance: Donated by Mortimer L. Neinken, December 1976,<sup>101</sup> ex-Charles McCormick, 1950, Melvin and George Fuld, 1976.

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101. Jennifer Gloede to Scott H. Miller, email dated February 9, 2024.

## 6. ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.



Photos courtesy the Ashmolean Museum.

47 mm, 24.31 grams.<sup>102</sup>

Provenance: gift of Sir Arthur Evans, 1919.

This may be the same example Spink & Son offered in their November–December 1916 Numismatic Circular, No. 47165 for £30.<sup>103</sup>

102. Dr. Julian Baker to Scott H. Miller, November 28, 2023.

103. Spink & Son, Numismatic Circular, vol. XXIV, nos. 11–12 (November–December 1916): p.699.



## PART TWO:

## Maryland Map Medal

The second of the three Lord Baltimore medals is the Map medal, Betts 35, and was commonly known from three silver examples, although a fourth specimen was noted more than one hundred years ago. As with the Portrait medal, much of what has been written about this medal is based on conjecture and wishful thinking. Measuring about 35 × 32 mm, this medal, which is of cast silver, is known both with and without loops. The obverse depicts an armored bust of Lord Baltimore, left, with the inscription + CÆCILIVS : BALTEMOREVS +, (Cecil Baltimore) though the final cross, which is broken on the Maryland specimen, is replaced by a rosette on the other known examples. The reverse depicts the sun shining upon a map of Maryland, along with its border with Virginia, with both areas clearly identified by name. In the center is a crowned shield depicting the Calvert coat of arms, and outside the map is the inscription VT : SOL : LVCEBIS : AMERICÆ +, which Hawkins translates as “As the sun thou shalt enlighten America.”<sup>104</sup> On the map can be seen TERRA MARIÆ and, in very small letters, VIRGINIÆ. On at least two examples, the single letter S can be seen to the right of the letter E in AMERICÆ and is probably the last letter from the word PARS, part of the inscription VIRGINIÆ PARS, denoting Virginia territory.

Although several writers have claimed the reverse design is based on John Smith’s 1612 map,<sup>105</sup> and one on the 1647 Blaeu map of Virginia,<sup>106</sup> it was clearly based on the 1635 Hawley and Lewger map, on which the outline of the Potomac River matches the simplicity and shape found on the medal, notably the rounded bend around present-day Charles County towards the top of the medal.<sup>107</sup> The map was published in 1635 as part of *A Relation of Maryland*, which provided enticing and important information about the colony for new settlers.<sup>108</sup> It is probably not a coincidence that it is also the map that Lord Baltimore is holding

104. Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. I, p. 261, no. 53.

105. Christopher R. McDowell, *The Early Betts Medal Companion* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 2022), p. 70. Heritage Auctions, *The John W. Adams Collection of Betts Medals, The Period of Discovery and Colonization* (January 9–14, 2013), p.98.

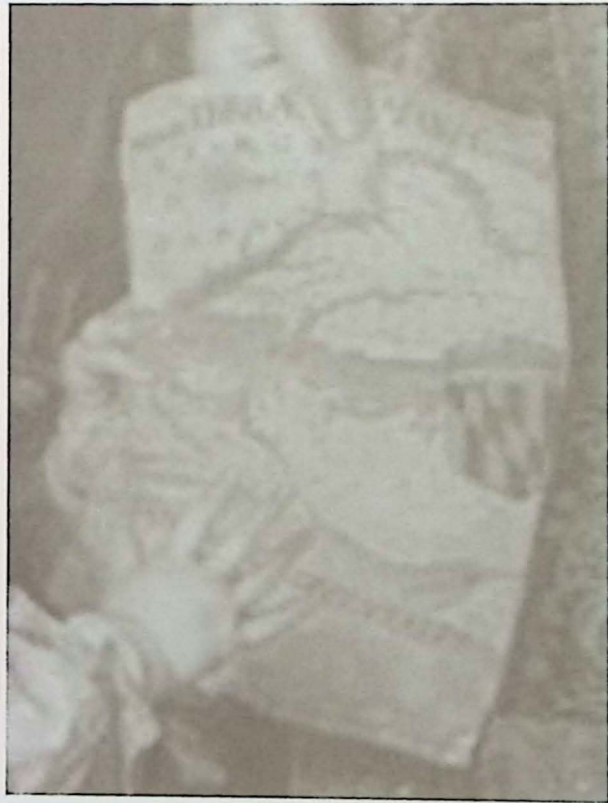
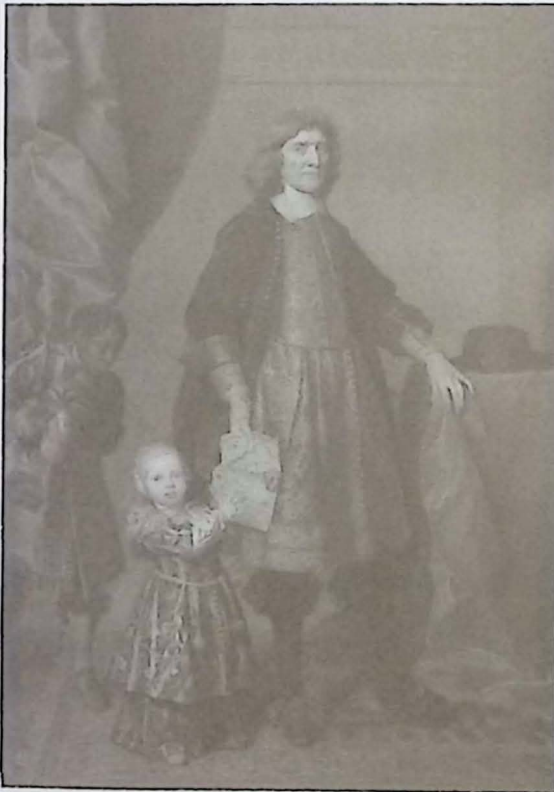
106. Tony Lopez, “Letter to the Editor,” *MCA Advisory*, vol. 12, no. 5 (May 2009): p.15.

107. This was noted by Stack’s, *The Philadelphia Americana Sale, Part Two: Coins, Medals, and Americana* (September 23–26, 2009).

108. Andrew White and Francis L. Hawks, *A Relation of Maryland, Reprinted from the London Edition of 1635* (New York: 1865), pp. 1–64.



Comparison of the Map medal and the 1635 Nova Terræ-Mariæ map.  
Medal - Maryland Center...



Cecil Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, by Gerard Soest, c. 1670, holding a copy of the 1635 Nova Terræ-Mariæ map, and enlarged detail.

Image courtesy Wikipedia



in the full-length portrait by Gerard Soest. The general appearance of the medal, along with the naming of the territories, is much closer to the Hawley and Leger map than the John Smith map, where local names are given, rather than the European ones. The place names on the map depicted on the medal also mirror those on the 1635 map.

While authorship of this medal has been attributed to various medalists, none of the arguments have been particularly persuasive. Platt and Platt repeat some of the information in the British Museum's online curator's notes and attribute this medal to Thomas Rawlins.<sup>109</sup> Tony Lopez claims that it is the work of Thomas Simon and that it is signed with tiny letters S on the obverse and reverse. However, the initial is not readily discernible, and, on two of the three examples noted, not an integral part of the medal, having reportedly been added by hand. The third example, in the collection of the Maryland Center for History and Culture, is signed with a raised letter "S" to the right of E in AMERICÆ.<sup>110</sup> That same letter "S" appears to be present in the example offered in the *Numismatic Circular* in 1911 and 1913. However, as noted above, that is probably the last letter in the phrase VIRGINIA PARS, as copied from the 1635 map. More important, however, is that both the subject matter and quality of engraving seem at odds with this attribution. While the portrait has a resemblance to that of Oliver Cromwell on the Dunbar medal, Thomas Simon was a Roundhead, producing many works for the Commonwealth. In contrast, Cecil Calvert was a Royalist and a Catholic. Simon's support for the Commonwealth was well-established by 1643 when he created a copy of the Great Seal of England for Parliament's use.<sup>111</sup> Even more telling is the quality of the work. The engraving of the map is relatively crude compared to other maps engraved by Simon, most notably that on the Commonwealth Seal produced about the same time. Simon was a master of miniature die engraving, and the quality of the Map medal does not measure up to his ability.

Examination of the Map medal indicates that the overall work, while competent, is not of a high standard. This is especially evident in the features of Lord Baltimore, where, for example, the eye is crudely rendered. The map is also roughly executed. Rather than look to the best medalists of the time, it is more likely that the medal was executed by a local artist, who might have been

109. Jerome J. Platt and Arlene Kay Platt, *British Historical Medals of the 17th Century* (London: 2017), p. 155.

110. Tony Lopez, "Thomas Simon," pp. 6–8.

111. Alan J. Nathanson, *Thomas Simon: His life and work 1618–1665* (London: 1975), p. 11.





A comparison of the portrait of Lord Baltimore on the Map medal and Thomas Simon's 1650 Battle of Dunbar medal. Note the artistry shown on the portrait of Cromwell, as well the ability to produce high quality images on a very small scale; qualities lacking in the Map medal.

Dunbar medal images courtesy

The American Numismatic Society, 0000.999.52935

under a little less scrutiny than those working for the Commonwealth. A similar circumstance led to using an unnamed Scottish artist to create the medal commemorating Charles II's coronation at Scone in 1651.<sup>112</sup> As with the Map medal, the Scottish coronation medal was cast, and less refined than would typically be expected for an important, officially produced medal. The two medals often display minor differences in detail, much of which can be attributed to the chasing expected during the production process. While both the Map and Coronation at Scone medals share some similarities in style, there is insufficient evidence to suggest they are by the same hand.

The purpose of the Map medal has generated considerable commentary over the years, though documentation concerning its original creation is apparently non-existent. Hawkins and Betts are both silent on this matter. Mark Jones says little, but notes that the portrait depicts someone older than on the Portrait medal. He also claims that the legend is a reference to Calvert's personal presence in the American colony and that, as such, the medal must have been made before early 1643, when plans for Calvert's coming to Maryland were abandoned.<sup>113</sup> In the Stack's sale of the Ford collection in 2006, the cataloger dated the Map medal

112. Charles II was crowned King of Scotland at Scone on January 1, 1651. After the Restoration in 1660, a second coronation was held at Westminster Abbey on April 23, 1661, at which time he was crowned King of England.

113. Mark Jones, *A Catalog of French Medals in the British Museum*, p. 167.



to 1658–60, “the time when Cecil Calvert was actively promoting his colony as a place of safe settlement...after his charter for Maryland had been affirmed, his control over the colony had been reestablished, and while he had coinage and other matters numismatic on his mind.”<sup>114</sup> More recently, Lopez claims this medal was used as an Indian Peace medal in 1644 when one was presented to the Susquehannocks. Unfortunately, no documentation of this was provided to support this theory, and the first documented appearance of a Map medal was actually in 1676, which Lopez included in his 2009 article in the *MCA Advisory*.<sup>115</sup> In fact, the little evidence we have indicates the creation of the Map medal had nothing to do with Indian treaties. However, it is undeniable that one or more were later presented to Indians.

First, as already shown, the Portrait medals probably date from the late 1630s or early 1640s. As on the Portrait medal, Lord Baltimore is depicted on the Map medal wearing armor and a short collar, which was popular in the 1640s and 50s. While this seems to depict an older version of Lord Baltimore than on the Portrait medal, this may simply reflect the artist’s skill; as with the Portrait medal, we do not have the portrait on which the medal was based. Since we know from the Blooteling engraving that Lord Baltimore shaved his mustache by 1657, the Map medal probably dates from before that time. Comparing the portrait with other medals, we can see it as being similar in style to Thomas Simon’s 1651 Battle of Dunbar medal,<sup>115a</sup> which depicts Oliver Cromwell in a nearly identical pose and costume. Another clue may be found in how Maryland was affected by the English Civil War. Beginning in 1643, Lord Baltimore experienced several challenges to his control over Maryland, and for much of the period, it was under the control of forces whose loyalties were toward Parliament. It was not until 1658 that the proprietorship was returned to Lord Baltimore, though even that was not without difficulties until the restoration of Charles II in 1660.<sup>116</sup> In this context, the Map medal may have been created as an assertion of Calvert’s claim to the property or a celebration of his retention of it after control was returned

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114. Stack’s, *John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Coins, Medals and Currency, Part XIII* (January 16, 2006, p. 139).

115. Tony Lopez, “The First Indian Peace Medal,” pp. 9–13.

115a. The Battle of Dunbar took place on September 3, 1650. Edward Hawkins quotes a February 4, 1650 letter from Oliver Cromwell to the Hon. Committee for the Army suggesting creation of this medal. The medal is attributed to 1651 in accordance with the Gregorian calendar. For more information, see *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. I, p. 31, no. 13.

116. Among these challenges was Claiborne and Ingle’s Rebellion, and the Parliamentary commissioners for Virginia who assumed authority over Maryland as well. Newton D. Mere-



to him. The fact that there does not appear to be any documentary mention of medals until 1665/6 would seem to support this theory. The idea that the Map medal was created to celebrate Calvert's authority over Maryland is supported by other writers who took a similar approach with the Lord Baltimore coinage, where his decision to issue coins shortly after his restoration was not only a means of personal profit but, as stated by Michael Hodder, a way for Lord Baltimore to proclaim his restored authority.<sup>117</sup>

The sun image on the reverse of the Map medal is another indication of Lord Baltimore's claim to Maryland. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the sun was a symbol of benevolent, monarchical rule. Although most closely associated with Louis XIV, the Sun King, many other European rulers were compared to the sun, including both Queen Elizabeth I and King James I (VI of Scotland).<sup>118</sup> The poetry of the period provides many examples, including several by Henry Petowe. In describing the funeral effigy of Elizabeth I, he wrote, "And through her glorious prograce was not far/ Yet like the smiling Sunne this semblance lay."<sup>119</sup> Later that year, in his coronation poem for James I, "England's Cæsar," Petowe uses the same sun imagery,

Usher his way, my *Muse* say that he comes,  
At whose uprise *Phoebus* doeth stand at gaze,  
Thinking the Heavens had ordeyn'd two Sunnes;  
One for the earth, which made Heavens Sunne amaze.  
Such is the glory of his reflecting gleames,  
Compos'd of sacred mettall: made by *Jove*  
That night turnes day when as he darts his beames,  
Frownes into smyles such is his princely love.  
Then London smyle, let no brow dare to frowne,  
When Royall James rides to his regall Crowne.<sup>120</sup>

This association between the monarch and the sun continued under Charles I, as depicted on the 1633 medal commemorating Charles I's return to London

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ness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (New York: 1901), pp. 15–28.

117. Louis E. Jordan, "Lord Baltimore Coinage and Daily Exchange in Early Maryland," *The Colonial Newsletter*, CNL-126, vol. 44, no. 2 (August–December 2004): p. 2681.

118. Jessica Lazar, 1603. *The Wonderful Yeare: Literary Responses to the Accession of James I.*, Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (DPhil in English), University College, Oxford University (2016): pp. 139–140.

119. *Ibid.*, p.140.

120. *Ibid.*



after his Scottish coronation. Designed by Nicholas Briot, the reverse depicts a view of London with a radiant sun above, and a legend that translates, "As sun illuminates the world so does the King's return gladden the city."<sup>121</sup> From the time of the Restoration, Charles II was associated with a number of symbols, including the sun, which "implied his dominant position in the physical and political worlds and demonstrated how his presence was essential for the lives of his subjects."<sup>122</sup> Since Lord Baltimore was granted palatine rule over Maryland, the depiction of the sun on the Map medal can be interpreted as a symbol of his warming rule over the Maryland colony, rather than as a reference to the English monarch.

As for the 1644 medal presentation to the Susquehannocks, there is no evidence that the event occurred. There is a reference to a "Passport to Indians" in 1644 that allowed up to three members of Susquehannocks being permitted free passage in Lord Baltimore's province, but no mention is made of a medal.<sup>123</sup> Early Maryland records contain many references to a requirement that Indians entering a town must show an appropriate sign or token, but there is no description of what that sign or token might have been. We see, for example, in the Assembly Proceedings for April 1650 concerning the murder of two inhabitants of Kent and Arundel Counties by Indians, "that before they [Indians] shall approach too neere any the Townes or Habitacons aforesaid either by land or Water, they shall give or make some knowne signe or Token of such their approach for the purpose aforesaid."<sup>124</sup> Similarly, according to the Articles of Peace and Friendship between the English and the Susquehannock Indians dated July 5, 1652, the fourth article reads,

That vpon any occasion of business to the English, or any Messadge or the like, the Indians shall come by Water and not by land, That there shall not be about Eight or ten at the most at any one tyme, And that they shall bring with them the token given them by the English for that purpose, by which they may be knownen and entertained, As also that the English on their parts when they send to the Indians, the Messenger shall Carry the

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121. Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. 1, p. 266, no. 62.

122. Joanna T. Neilson, "National Confusion over the Issues of the English Restoration," Florida State University, Electronic Theses, Treatises and Dissertations (2005), pp.7-16.

123. Here listed as "sesquisahanow." William Hand Browne, editor, *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland 1636-1667*, vol. 3 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1885), p. 150.

124. William Hand Browne, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, January 1637/8-September 1664*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society: 1883), p. 291.



token which wee haue receiued from them.<sup>125</sup>

Again, there is no mention of any medal, but rather some sort of "token," given by each part, that would be easily recognizable by the other. There is no indication as to what form the tokens took.

The earliest documentary record relating to medals of Lord Baltimore is from 1666, and while the medals are not described, they probably refer to the Map medal. On February 16, 1665/6, Lord Baltimore wrote to his son, Charles, with instructions and orders. Among these instructions was:

Item that you seriously take into your Consideration to finde and speedily to propose unto us some Convenient way of and for the making of some visible distinction and Distinctions betweene you our Leivetennant Generall our Chancelor Principall Secretary, Generall Officers Councillors Judges & Justices and the Rest of the people of our said Province Either by the wearing of habbits Meddalls or otherwise."<sup>126</sup>

According to a proclamation by the Lieutenant General and Council on June 12, 1666, "And that euey Justice of this Prouin [provincial] Court doe appeare in Court at the dayes appointed for theire Setting in Court wth his ribon and meddle upon Paine of a Noble for euey default to the Lord Propr."<sup>127</sup>

A medal is also mentioned in the preface to Volume 15 of the *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1671-1681*. Although the actual transcript is not provided, they probably relate to the events mentioned in the *Maryland Assembly Proceedings* described below. The brief summary in the preface indicates that in September 1675, following the murder of several Whites in Virginia and Maryland by Indians, a group of Virginians under the command of Colonel John Washington, and Marylanders under Major Thomas Truman met with some Susquehannocks. The Indians claimed no involvement in the murders, which they attributed to the Senacas, and "that they themselves were fast friends of the English, and in proof they exhibited a Maryland medal with its gold-and-black ribbon, which Governor Calvert had given them as a token of amity and a protection."<sup>128</sup> Unfortunately, the talks did not go well for the Indians, as the

125. William Hand Browne, ed., *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland 1636-1667*, vol. 3, p. 278.

126. William Hand Browne, editor, *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland 1671-1681*, vol. 15 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1896), pp. 13-16.

127. William Hand Browne, editor, *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland 1636-1667*, vol. 3, p. 547.



Virginians reportedly seized five of the chiefs and tomahawked them, despite the assurance of safety.<sup>129</sup> Not surprisingly, the Virginians claimed no hand in the murder of the five chiefs, and their 1677 depositions made no mention of the passport and medal.<sup>130</sup>

The *Maryland Assembly Proceedings* provide a contemporary record that establishes the story of the passport and medal as having been shown to Colonel Washington and Major Truman. On May 22, 1676, the impeachment of Major Truman was raised with several depositions recorded. Part of that record reads "that the said Major Thomas Truman having received Six Indians Sent out by the Susquehannoughs as Embassadors to Treat wth him on the Sunday after the arrivall of the Maryland forces, and received their papr and Meddall by which wee finde thr they were received as friends and in amity with vs, and had liberty of goeing bacd to the forte and were assured tht noe intention of force was to be vsed agt them...."<sup>131</sup> While this almost certainly was a Map medal, no description of the medal was provided.

The first descriptive evidence of the Map medal is from the records of a council held at Mattapany on June 16, 1676. Maquata, King of the Mattawoman, indicated his concern of being forgotten or ill-treated after the Lord Proprietor, now Charles Calvert, the third Baron Baltimore, left for England. "And hereupon as a marke of his Lopps Kindnesse and pledge of ffreindshipp his said Lopp gave unto the King of Mattawoman a medall with the effigies of the Rt Honble Cecilius his L<sup>opp</sup>s (Lords Proprietor's) ffather lately deceased on the one side and the Mapp of Maryland on the other side with a blacke and yellow Ribbon."<sup>132</sup> This medal is mentioned again in a letter from Captain Brandt dated 28 (June?) 1680. "The King of Mattawoman shews me a meddall in token of your L<sup>spp</sup>s (Lords Proprietor's) ffriendshipp to him, he beginns now to be in feare of the Susquehannohs and Sinniquo and prtends want of Armes and Ammunition, he intends speedily to make his addresses to your L<sup>spp</sup>s."<sup>133</sup>

128. William Hand Browne, ed., *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland 1671-1681*, vol. 15, pp. viii.

129. *Ibid.*, viii-ix.

130. Lyon G. Tyler, "Col. John Washington: Further Details of His Life from the Records of Westmoreland Co., Virginia," *The William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Papers*, vol. 2, no. 1 (July 1893): pp. 38-43.

131. William Hand Browne, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland April 1666-June 1676* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1884), pp. 485-6.

132. William Hand Browne, ed., *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland 1671-1681*, vol. 15, pp. 90-91.

133. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

While the several mentions of a medal presented to Indians often involved a passport as well, there were many instances where a pass of some sort was presented without an accompanying medal. On June 22, 1681, a Council was held at St. Maries, during which several Indian prisoners held on suspicion of involvement in a murder in town were questioned. During the questioning of a man named Iaquiscouh, a woman named Love Jones claimed she saw some Indians in a boat who took a paper out of their bag which she identified as a pass.<sup>134</sup> John Stavely then testified that he saw eleven Indians and that between them, they had two passes allowing them to trade.<sup>135</sup>

These examples show that while passes, or passports, were given somewhat freely, the distribution of medals among Indians in Maryland was much more limited. The mention of medals and ribbons in 1666 and 1675-6 indicates a medal that was used for multiple purposes over a number of years. The fact that all known examples have provenances traced only to England, would indicate that a number were likely distributed in England as well as within the Maryland colony.

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134. *Ibid.*, pp. 364-369.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 370.



CENSUS OF ORIGINAL  
Maryland Map Medals (Betts 35)  
Along with their provenances

1. BRITISH MUSEUM.



© The Trustees of the British Museum

Number M.7113

35 × 32 mm, 14.74 grams, cast silver

Curator's notes: "This medal seems to portray an older man, and one with shorter hair, than registration no. 1844,0425.22. Since the legend refers to Calvert's personal presence in America the medal must have been cast before the beginning of 1643 when he abandoned his plans to settle there. The style of the portrait is quite different to that of 1844,0425.22: closer to Thomas Rawlins' portrait of Prince Charles on the 'Forlorn Hope' medal of 1643 than to Briot's work. Rawlins was working at the court in Oxford during this period; so if he were the medalist this piece would date from after the Baltimores' move to Oxford at the end of 1642."<sup>136</sup>

Characteristics: suspension loop has broken off

Obv. Rosette next to shoulder

Rev. No S on map, Flaw above R in AMERICÆ, Broken S in LVCEBIS

Provenance: ex-Edward Hawkins.

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<sup>136</sup>. "Medal," *British Museum*, accession no. M.7113, accessed April 22, 2024.

The curator's notes regarding Calvert's personal presence in the New World may be mistaken. The reference to his enlightening America could simply relate to his just rule, even through a governor. The sun was a normal reference for a monarch or other ruler at the time, hence the many references to Louis XIV, Elizabeth I, and others with the sun. It could refer to Calvert as the just and wise ruler, reinforcing his claims to the property against the attempts by Parliament to take it away, or to his belief that he was a better ruler than Parliament.

## 2. MARYLAND CENTER FOR HISTORY AND CULTURE.



Courtesy of the Maryland Center for History and Culture [1915.7.1].  
(formerly The Maryland Historical Society)

Object ID 1915.7.1, Resource ID 3857  
35.5 × 32.2 mm, 13.0 grams, cast silver

Characteristics: The medal is much better defined than all others.

Obv. Broken cross next to shoulder.

Rev. S in the map at 9 o'clock, No Fall above R in AMRICÆ, S in LVCEBIS is intact.

Provenance: Spink & Son, 1915.

Of the four known original examples, this is the only one to have a cross, rather than a rosette next to the shoulder on the obverse, though both the broken cross seen here and the rosette on other examples have a hole in the center of the device. A flaw in the cross next to the second cross or rosette confirms all were made from the same model.

This medal was obtained in 1915 after twelve members of the Maryland Historical Society reportedly contributed a total of \$120 to cover the £25 charged



by Spink & Son.<sup>137</sup> At the December 1915 meeting of the Maryland Historical Society, a statement was read concerning the acquisition of this medal, which indicated the acquisition was made “through the generosity of several gentlemen connected to the Society.”<sup>138</sup> The Treasurer’s report lists a \$100 deposit against the medal’s purchase.<sup>139</sup> Some question was raised concerning the 1632 date, as reported by Edward Hawkins, because of the similarity between the map on the reverse and the Augustin Herrman map, which is dated somewhat later.<sup>140</sup> The Herrman map of Virginia and Maryland, which was published in 1673, is dated too late to have been the source of this medal.<sup>141</sup>

Despite the record concerning the generosity of twelve members in procuring this medal, the Society’s Proceedings for 1916, as published in the March 1917 edition of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, provides a different scenario. “The Report of the Library Committee” for that year includes the entry, “Lord Baltimore medal purchased, but afterwards the amount refunded by Colonial Dames of America...\$43.20.”<sup>142</sup>

In 1974, a number of colonial coins and medals were reportedly stolen from the Maryland Historical Society, including the medal listed here.<sup>143</sup>

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137. George J. Fuld, “Seventeenth Century Maryland Medals,” *The Maryland Numismatist*, vol. 39, no. 1 (Spring, 2011): pp.8–9.

138. Richard H. Spencer, “Abstract of Proceedings of the Society,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. XI, no. 1 (March 1916): p. 86.

139. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

140. *Ibid.*, pp. 86–88.

141. Cassandra Britt Farrell, “The Herrman Map of Virginia and Maryland,” *Encyclopedia Virginia*, accessed December 24, 2023.

142. Edward B. Mathews, “Proceedings of the Society, Report of the Library Committee,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 12 (1917): p. 80.

143. Baltimore Police Department Report, “Report of Missing Coins,” Central Complaint No. 1C-43715.

## 3. FORD / ADAMS.



Images courtesy of Stack's Bowers Galleries.

35.2 × 32.4 mm, 240.1 grains (15.59 g), cast silver.

Characteristics: oval loop with pointed top.

Obv. Rosette next to shoulder.

Rev. No S on map, Flaw above R in AMERICÆ, Broken S in LVCEBIS.

Provenance: Glendining's July 17, 1958, lot 239; Stack's, Ford Part XIII, January 16, 2006, lot 688; Stack's September 23, 2009, lot 6106; Heritage John W. Adams Collection, January 9–13, 2013, lot 3587. This may also be the same example that was sold by Glendining's for £10 as lot 252 in their Sale of Ancient & Modern Coins held November 19 and 20, 1942.<sup>144</sup>

When listed in the Ford XIII sale, this medal was noted as ex-Glendining, July 17, 1958, and B. A. Seaby on September 3, 1958. In Stack's September 23–26, 2009 auction, it was further suggested that this piece was the Eden family specimen described in *Medallic Illustrations*. This was based on the cataloguer being unaware of any other examples of this medal, apart from the ones at the British Museum and the Maryland Historical Society, now the Maryland Center for Culture and History.<sup>145</sup> At least one other example has appeared, as shown below, and, no doubt, others may be found in the future.

144. Glendining & Co., November 19th & 20th, 1942, lot 252.

145. Stack's, *The Philadelphia Americana Sale, Part Two*, pp. 185–186.



#### 4. SPINK & SON 1911.



Images courtesy of Spink & Son

1.4 × 1.3 inches (35.5 × 33m), cast and chased, silver,  
possible remnant of loop.

Characteristics:

Obv. Rosette next to shoulder.

Rev. Possible remnant of a loop is visible; S in LVCEBIS is intact.

Provenance: Spink & Son 1911, 1913, current location unknown.

This medal was offered for sale by Spink & Son in their April 1911 *Numismatic Circular* as No. 84737 for £35,<sup>146</sup> and again in the June 1913 *Circular* as No. 6147, at a reduced price of £30.<sup>147</sup> It is not the same medal that the Maryland Historical Society acquired in 1915, which has two crosses to the right of the bust, albeit one is broken. It is also not a match for the Ford / Adams specimen which has a loop and shows striations on the upper part of the obverse, and some damage to the S in CECÆLIVS and B in BALTEMOREVS. There are also sufficient differences from the British Museum example to indicate this is not an electrotype copy. On the reverse, the British Museum medal has an incomplete S in LVCEBIS, while that letter appears to be whole on this example. There are several stops on the reverse of this medal that do not appear on the other specimens, such as after the Æ in AMERICÆ and between the V and T in VT, but because the image is taken of a plaster cast, it is not clear if these were on the original, or only on the cast. Even considering S. H. Chapman's claim that Spink & Son tried to consign a group of spurious war medals, this appears to be a fourth original example of this rare medal.

146. Spink & Son, *Numismatic Circular*, vol. XIX, no. 221 (April 1911): column 12720.

147. Spink & Son, *Numismatic Circular*, vol. XXI, part 6 (June 1913): column 457.

## PART THREE

## The Arrows Medal.

The Arrows medal is the least understood of the three Lord Baltimore medals. It has sometimes been referred to as either an Indian peace medal or an unfinished pattern. Lewis, in reference to the Portrait and Arrows medals, states:

a second or auxiliary design ... was intended for actual use in the process of colonial development, and is a pendant to the double portrait medal in size, material and workmanship, but bears no figural images. Its obverse displays the Indian arrows of the Baltimores' feudal patent, while the central field of its reverse is left blank, to be engraved at the time of award with the names and services of recipients, who were to be honored for their role in supporting the proprietary government.<sup>148</sup>

Lewis continues with his idea that the inscriptions on the Portrait and Arrows medals prove they were intended as presentation medals, with the Arrows medal used "specifically to reward unity under the proprietors."<sup>149</sup> Both Fuld and Lopez, on the other hand, believe the medal is an unfinished, rejected pattern.<sup>150</sup> Lopez specifically stated that it was a rejected pattern for use with Indians in the Maryland colony.<sup>151</sup>

The obverse of this medal depicts a group of six arrows, points down, united by a ribbon, the left side of which bears the inscription CÆCILIVS, with the other side of the ribbon being left blank. A second ribbon reads VIS • VNITA • FORTIOR (united power is stronger). The inscription EGO CORPORA IVNGAT CORDA DEVS is translated by Hawkins as I united their bodies, and may God their hearts. The reverse is blank save for a ribbon below with the inscription COR • VNVM • ET • ANIMA • VNA • (One heart and one mind) and the legend CÆCILIVS BALTEMOREVS ET ANNA ARVNDELIA VXOR EIVS, which Hawkins gives as "Cecil Baltimore and Anne Arundel his wife."<sup>152</sup>

Close examination suggests this is an unfinished medal to celebrate the not-so-recent union between Cecil Calvert and Anne Arundell. This is supported by the inscriptions, as well as the imagery used. The obverse translates as God

148. Douglas Lewis, "Colonial Proprietors and the English Civil War," p. 175.

149. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

150. George J. Fuld, "Seventeenth Century Maryland Medals," p. 13.

151. Tony Lopez, "The First Indian Peace Medal," p. 12.

152. Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. 1, p. 262, no. 54.



Joins the Hearts of the Bodies, while that on the reverse reads Cecil Baltimore and Anne his Wife. Clearly, a simple reading of this is sufficient. Moreover, the unfinished nature of the medal, as well as the inscription that references Anne as Lord Baltimore's wife, make it clear that it was not meant as a memorial or other posthumous piece, giving this medal a production period exactly equal to that of the Portrait medal. The similarities between the style of lettering on the two medals suggest the same artist was responsible for creating both. The obverse design, while often described as a group of Indian arrows, is actually a well-known European symbol of unity and was a commonly used device on medals of the period; it has no relation to American Indians. While the name Cecilius can be seen on the left piece of ribbon around the arrows, the right portion is blank and probably would have had Anne's name added. The reverse would most likely have been intended to have a symbolic image, such as Cupid, or their coats of arms. Other medals of the period, such as the marriage medal of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, with a reverse design of Cupid scattering roses and lilies,<sup>153</sup> or the Tribute to Henrietta Maria medal with its display of the shields of England and France united<sup>154</sup> are typical for the period. Finally, Hawkins's belief that the Arrows medal was meant to be an award medal and that the blank field on the reverse was intended to be engraved with the name of the recipient<sup>155</sup> can be discounted. Not only is there no evidence to support this claim, but English medals of the period generally do not include blank fields for engraving within a pre-existing inscription.<sup>156</sup> Were the Arrows medal to be considered a possible Indian Peace medal with room for engraving on the obverse ribbon and reverse field, there would also have had to be silversmiths or goldsmiths to do the necessary work. However, such artisans were not available in Maryland until the next century.<sup>157</sup>

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153. *Ibid.*, p. 238, no. 1.

154. *Ibid.*, p. 249, no. 23.

155. *Ibid.*, p. 262, no. 54.

156. See, for examples, the school medals described by M. E. Grimshaw, or archery medals described by Alexander J. Brook. M.E. Grimshaw, *Silver Medals, Badges and Trophies from Schools in the British Isles 1550-1850* (Cambridge, nd). Alexander J.S. Brook, *The Archery Medals of the University of St. Andrews and the Grammar School of Aberdeen* (Edinburgh, 1894).

157. Louise C. Avery, *American Silver of the XVII & XVIII Centuries; a Study Based on the Clearwater Collection* (New York, 1920), p. xxxvi.

## CENSUS OF ORIGINAL

## Arrows Medals (Betts 36)

Along with their provenances, and a list of electrotpe copies

**1. MARYLAND CENTER FOR HISTORY AND CULTURE.**

Courtesy of the Maryland Center for History and Culture [1983.45]  
(formerly Maryland Historical Society).

Object ID 1983.45

50 mm, 24.2 grams, Cast silver shells within a retaining ring.

Provenance: This medal's pedigree is not clearly established. Although the Eden family most likely held it for a considerable period, it was probably acquired about the time the other medals were purchased in 1802. This particular medal may have been the "one unknown" medal in lot 210 of the Tyssen sale, but this is uncertain.



## ELECTROTYPE COPIES OF THE ARROWS MEDAL

## a. British Museum.



© The Trustees of the British Museum.

47 mm

This example is an electrotype copy of the Eden family medal sold by Spink & Son, USA in 1983.

## b. Stack's Bowers Galleries, November 8, 2017, lot 2.



Images courtesy of Stack's Bowers Galleries.

52.4 × 47.6 mm

## Lot Description:

(C. mid 19th century) Cast copy of the Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore award medal. As Betts-36. Unknown composition (low grade silver or base metal), cast and chased.  $47.6 \times 52.4$  mm with integral loop and added jump ring.

Mottled gray with coppery and olive overtones. Well made, devices fairly clear but not as distinct as on an earlier cast or a struck medal, rims heavily filed mostly parallel to the rims. The exact purpose of the original medal is unknown; Betts notes that the reverse "field [was] plain for inscribing name of recipient," while the 1983 Spink and Son USA Auction #4 that offered the original, consigned by the descendants of the Calverts, called it an "early colonial award." However, no awarded example has been noted, and the unfinished nature of the medal suggests it was intended as a family piece, and the design was abandoned prior to completion in favor of the Lord and Lady Baltimore Portrait medal.

Provenance: Acquired from Baldwin's in 1956.



## APPENDIX ONE

## A List of Lord Baltimore Medals in Early Auction Catalogs

Dr. Richard Meade collection (Abraham Langford), 1755, Day Seven, Lot 37. "Lord Baltimore, Proprietor of Maryland, with his Lady on the reverse," and a silver medal of Lord Traquair. Purchased by Edward Hodsoll for eleven shillings.

James West collection (Abraham Langford), January 19, 1773, Day 3, Lot 72, bought by Thomas Snelling for £5/15/0, and possibly the specimen acquired by Dr. William Hunter.

Reverend William Gostling collection (Abraham Langford), June 17, 1777, Lot 41 consists of three medals, including "Lord and Lady Baltimore, a medal rarely seen..." purchased by White for 19 shillings. White likely refers to either John White or his nephew Joseph White.<sup>158</sup>

Charles Lindegren collection (Mr. Skinner & Co.), May 21, 1784, Seventh Day, Lot 61 consisted of a medal of "Lord Baltimore, rev. his Lady" which sold for £3/3/0.

Samuel Tyssen collection (Leigh, Sotheby & Son), March, April, and May, 1802, Lot 210, eight medals including "Lord Baltimore. Reverse, Lady Baltimore," sold to Col. Eden for £1/3/0. Lot 569, consisting of three medals, including "Lord Baltimore, his Bust in Armour. Reverse, a Map of Maryland, of which he was a Proprietor, inscribed Ut. Sol. Lucebis Americæ, unpublished. Another of him. Reverse, his Lady," sold to Sir Frederick Eden for £2/2/0.

Sir Frederick Morton Eden collection (Mr. Burton), March 14, 1810, Lot 12, "A ditto of Lord and Lady Baltimore, very scarce." Lot 13, "A scarce Medal of Lord Baltimore." Lots 14 consists of a Lord Baltimore Shilling, scarce and fine, a Sixpence ditto, and a New England Threepence." Lot 15 comprises "Lord Baltimore Shilling and Sixpence, very fine and scarce." A copy of this catalog in the Eden family papers at Durham University bears the pencil notations "to Genl Eden" after lot 5, and "Delivered to Genl. Eden 26 Mar 1819" after lots 12 through 15.

James Bindley collection (Mr. Sotheby), March 3, 1819, Lot 550, "Lord Baltimore, reverse his Lady" sold to dealer Matthew Young for £1/13/0.

Thomas Dimsdale collection (Mr. Sotheby), July 6, 1824, Lot 912, "Lord Baltimore, reverse his Lady", sold to dealer Matthew Young for £1/19/0.

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158. G.W.L., "The Query..." *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. LXXXII, part 2 (July. 1812): p. 36.



Thomas Thomas collection (S. Leigh Sotheby & Co), 23 February 1844, lot 400, sold to Edward Hawkins £4/13/0.

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